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LETTERS

ON THE RELATION OF THE

WHITE AND AFRICAN RACES

IN THE UNITED STATES,

SHOWING THE NECESSITY OF THE

COLONIZATION OF THE LATTER.

ADDRESSED TO THE REPRESENTATIVE MEN OF THE NATION.

Mitchell, James

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To the Honorable Messrs.

LINCOLN, DOUGLAS, BELL AND BRECKINRIDGE,

Gentlemen:

We respectfully ask your consideration of the matter and measure named in the following letters and papers.

You are by choice the *representative men* of the several sections of our common country, and one or the other of you will have been chosen as the future magistrate of the nation, before these letters can be published, as they are not intended for general circulation or party purposes, but *for private use*, placed at your service as an aid to reflection on the most dangerous and troublesome question of our time; and for the purpose of renewing the prayer and request made through twelve years last past, and placed before three successive administrations; hoping that circumstances will justify the incoming administration to look the question disturbing the peace of the country calmly in the face, and that steps will be taken to dispose of it before it becomes of unmanageable magnitude.

We claim no originality for the measures proposed, they have been the subjects of reflection and partial action with American statesmen from the foundation of the Republic; we have only attempted to take up their plans and reflections and embody them in the form of *petition*. With the exceptions of the extracts from the colonization report to the Legislature of Indiana in 1852, entitled "*the separation of the races just and politic*," these letters have not been published before—we refrain from adding new matter to them, as we have no desire to mingle with the conflicting elements of the present canvass, our fears and conjectures already expressed having been more than verified thus far, God grant that our views of the future of this country may prove incorrect, and never receive a fulfillment; in those fears and forebodings we are not alone—in evidence of which we may quote the writings and speeches of most of our modern statesmen—nor have others been wanting in remedies for the evil—the most plausible and possibly the most practicable of which has been pointed out by Hon. F. P. Blair, of Mo., in his address on "colonization and commerce"—but seeing the moral and civil wants of Africa, and the resources we control for her relief, we fondly cling to African colonization, as being more worthy of a great people ac-

tuated by other and higher motives than that of commerce alone, and although in doing this we may be placed in the ranks of the enthusiast; yet the history of American colonization keeps the advocate of African colonization in countenance, and breaks the force of the charge.

Although but one of you can be placed at this time in the seat of our chief magistrate, yet you all occupy a controlling place in the councils of the nation, and can shape and mould public opinion by your position and state papers, so as to secure reasonable and proper action on the questions thus brought to your notice.

With respect, &c., yours,

J. MITCHELL,

Sec. Indiana State Board of Colonization.

Oct. 1st, 1860.

I.

His Excellency, James Buchanan,

President of the United States.

Sir:—Permit the undersigned to present the claims of the enterprise of colonization as advocated and carried forward by the numerous African colonization societies in the United States, and ask for it your favorable regard as a proper and politic measure for the suppression of the African Slave Trade.

I state but a truism when I say, that under the directing hand of the Great Ruler, our race, the Anglo Saxon race, has become the most successful colonizer of the present age. During the last three hundred years other races have attempted this work but to fail; other races have desired the ability to extend and expand, but that power has been denied them; and as one who has solved all those things, by a religions key, we assign as a principle reason of our success; the fact, that our colonization is eminently a christian colonization—being the medium and channel through which civil institutions are extended over the globe, whose moral quality is derived from the law of God, thus furnishing a shelter to those religious organizations—the churches, with which the elevation of the human family is so intimately connected.

This alone must ever give the Anglo Saxon, and Anglo American colonization, the preponderance of Divine favor, as against the colonization scheme or permanent expansion of less worthy nations.

The colonization of our free colored people in Africa, differs little from the spread of our own race over this and other lands, except that the motive power of the African system does not spring from the black man, but from the enterprise of the white, imparted to the man of color as a part of our peculiar civilization, and not only imparted to them but irresistably pressing them from without to action and enterprise.

In thus reviewing the ground, we take it for granted that it enters into the order and economy of Providence, to make this country a reservoir from which shall be drawn the supply of christian civilization wherewith to renovate Africa. And

that in this way the dangerous and perplexing problem that now distracts this nation will be partly solved.

In the solution of all such national problems, statesmen are the agents of Providence; and whether advised or unadvised they work out the will of Heaven. We hold that statemen and rulers are the servants of God, who prosper whilst they follow the indications of His will, but fail when they attempt to run counter thereto.

And on the ground we have already taken—we hold that there is not a nation under Heaven, whose statesmen are more the subject of the Divine regard than our own, except it be the elder stock of our race in the British empire—not because of abstract merit in that class of men, but because of their position and relation to the human family; and this regard is doubtless measured by the magnitude of the offices our statesmen fill.

It is needless, Sir, for me to dwell on this grave truth, it is known to you—therefore with *profound respect* we regard you as the "sword bearer" of a great, and I trust christian people; acting under the sanction of high Heaven, and responsible to our common Judge, and undoubtedly as the chief ruler of this great nation, the subject of much Divine regard.

Hear then the prayer not of one man, but of hundreds of thousands of your fellow citizens, if not of millions, who plead for the negro race—we ask not the emancipation of the slave, for that is beyond your power, *and not our right to ask*. But we ask that the free born negro, and emancipated slave may be aided in removing from the United States, by the establishment of reliable means of transportation to Africa, and not only that they may be aided in emigration, but that emigration may *be stimulated*, by making the Republic of Liberia, more attractive by the bestowal of national favor; in the formation of a liberal commercial treaty, and the direct or indirect appropriation of funds for the improvement of that country—that the young nation may be forced up to an attractive position, and the growing affluence of her citizens may produce a spirit of emigration amongst our free blacks.

To this policy I apprehend objections will be started by strict constructionists; but if you desire to render this great service to the human family, all such objections may be avoided, by a slight change in the existing policy for the suppression of the "African Slave Trade," a matter to which the nation is now committed, as a worthy and important measure of national policy. We would therefore respectfully suggest that our African squadron, be so enlarged as to include a number of small armed steamers, to ply between this country and West Africa; to be placed partially under the control of the

New York, Maryland and Louisiana colonization societies; by which you will create three great conservative interests, at three distant and important points in the nation, around which the conservative men of those localities can gather—and in the fostering of which, national yet benevolent interests, they will find scope for the exercise of that true benevolence which is one of the most ennobling qualities of our race; nor would such organizations be without their influence in the season of political storms—being one in interest, one in aim, they would constitute a link to bind a dissolving confederacy, the social and religious bonds of which are melting away before the sectional spirit of the age—undervalue not such bonds, and pardon the expression, when I say, that it is true policy, to bring into being as many of such as statesmen can.

In addition to the salutary influence this national movement will have on the parties of the country you will grant a boon to the disturbed sensibilities of the northern churches, schools and benevolent societies of every name—from which as *moral centers of great power*, floods of agitating influence, often revolutionary in character, have been cast upon the country for some years past—which if not stayed by prudent measures, must and will precipitate our national dissolution.

In addition to the oil thus poured on the troubled waters, the government will have a proper plea for the increase of that important and noble arm of the national defence—the Navy, which so far as number of guns afloat is concerned, but poorly contrasts with the numerous and powerful batteries at the disposal of other nations—surely there will be more merit in such a plea for liberal appropriations to naval extension and support, than in the plea whereby the English ministry persuade the Commons to maintain a useless but powerful fleet on the "West African Station"—and is it not evident to you, and your constitutional advisors, that inland States like this, and lands-men generally, require such evidence of utility and practical worth, to place them in strong sympathy with the Naval Department in times of peace, it cannot be unknown to you that there is less sympathy with the Naval Department than there should be, because we seldom feel or see its work.

But, Sir, there are objections which we fear more than those of the strict constructionist—and these are the objections of the extremists on either hand—the Abolitionist objects to colonization and Liberia, and the colonization scheme; therefore he is against any and all measures that would turn the attention of the nation into this safe channel—he demands the unconditional emancipation of the slaves, *he orders the freed man to force his way into the society of the whites*, and

stands pledged to aid in Africanising this whole country, by corrupting the blood of the white race—such, thank God, are not a powerful party at the north. We therefore hope you will not be influenced by them.

But there is more to be feared from the extremists of the south, as in this day we fear they are more numerous than the amalgamationists of the north, and although not intending to aid that contemptible faction by the enunciation of extreme pro-slavery views, yet they do so most effectually by driving thousands and tens of thousands of our conservative and best men into the ranks of those radicals. I would that I could reach the ear of one of those southern magnates, I would say with a burthened heart because of the dangers clearly seen on all hands—the time for prudent statesmanship has come; the storm is raging and bearing down on the fabric of the confederacy, and nothing but prudent policy will save from wreck. But what, he may ask, is prudent policy in such a case? May I not point to England and her statesmen as an example—when in England the popular element rages and in its fury rolls its powerful waves against the constitution and the throne, *demanding* "*reform*," and shaking the country to its foundations, what then is the policy of British statesmen? Do they stiffen up like the proud oak and stand unyielding until broken, or torn up by the roots? No sir! such is not the policy of England's minister; whatever else they may be guilty of they are not imprudent in such a storm—they bend like the willow, they give before the blast—not much do they give, it is true, but nevertheless they give to the popular demands, an inch at a time; but their wisdom is in giving a little and thus avoiding, from period to period, the danger to the throne or ruling class.

I would to God that such was the course of the rulers of this land, who are mostly the statesmen of the south; they have always been our rulers either directly or indirectly, and they *will be the rulers* until the nation is rent by revolution, for give they will not, no, not an inch; we fear their motto has become: "Perpetuate the institution of American slavery," to perpetuate it must be expanded, and the balance of the slave and free States maintained through all future time. On the other hand the northern conscience rises in revolt against this propagandism and design to Africanize the nation, assumes unqualified opposition and refuses to be a party to the scheme whilst by its powerful workings it moves society with earthquake throes, and each convulsion is but a faint shadow of the violence of its successor.

May God help the conservative men of the free States, for we are at our wits end, we know not what to do; when we come to our rulers, the statesmen of the South, and tell them they must grant us material on which to build an argument wherewith to beat back the revolutionary storm, they heed us no more than though we were their enemies, and as though desirous of disunion in fact as well as in feeling, bid defiance to the northern storm which shakes the nation to its very base.

Sir! I disclaim all intention to be disrespectful when I say we should have a stroke of national policy on the colonization question *and less of the dangerous effort to Africanize this continent*, for if things move forward as they have for years past the next quadrennial election for President will find every State free from the institution of slavery arrayed against those encumbered therewith, on the simple issue of free States versus slave states, and the North acting in an unbroken body against the South. If Southern gentlemen will not aid us by giving us proper material wherewith to meet the issues of the day, why be it so, we will calmly do our duty and commit the result to Providence. But we frankly tell such gentlemen that the day for compromise will soon be past—disunion is already at work and rapidly culminating—the body politic is like a consumptive patient, the disease of disunion will soon take a radical hold, and then the most that the friends of the Union can do is to protract and prolong its sickly existence; be this the aim of every patriot; but does not a wiser patriotism prompt us to remove, as far as we can, the causes of decline, which is unquestionably such a large mass of fellow beings of African origin, upon which a constant and effectual drain should be established, so as to draw them off and place them in some other country, where they may have a separate and independent subsistence. In absence of a better locality should we not select the West Coast of Africa, where they are so much required to aid in the suppression of the slave trade, by the establishment of settlements and posts of civilization. A few millions judiciously expended in the formation of such settlements would be an *eternal blessing* to nations, for the effect would pass into eternity, and the administration which dares to take such a step will rear for itself a monument more durable than brass, and in addition give to this distracted country a national party with national measures, to the standard of which the good can rally in the dark and stormy day.

But, sir, I must frankly say that a party, if such should ever arise that has no aim, no end to serve but the cause of human bondage, cannot rally to their standard the conservative or the good men of any section of the land. Here then is a measure

which, if adopted, will form the foundation of a system of policy on the negro question that will stand the severest ordeal of party conflict.

We feel thankful to Providence that our nation is committed to the suppression of the African slave trade, because it furnishes a pretext for more liberal measures, and as European nations are to some extent attempting a revival of that traffic by means of doubtful utility. Policy and humanity both concur in prompting this nation to give the world an American system for the final suppression of the trade by the establishment of extensive colonies, hoping that in time the language, institutions and religion of our country will extend from the Cape of Good Hope to the ancient seat of empire, the Barbary States.

Nor will French colonization present a successful barrier at that point, for it answers not the end of Providence, and it must, as it has often done, give place to that we advocate in this paper—that is a Christian colonization—bearing onward and mingling with its flood the principles and fundamental truths, social, civil and religious, peculiar to the civilization of the Anglo Saxon race, which under God has been made the great instructor of the negro, and as we believe for wise and beneficent purposes.

I will close this memorial by submitting a copy of one of the Acts of our State Legislature in regard to the measure for which we ask, and permit me to say that the policy of our State remains unchanged on this subject; nothing would be more acceptable to the people than the measure herein proposed.

"*A Joint Resolution on the subject of the Slave Trade, and for purposes of Colonization. Approved March* 4, 1852."

"Whereas, considerations of philanthropy and patriotism alike demand an earnest effort to suppress the African Slave Trade, so long a reproach to the Christian world, and a base outrage upon an unfortunate race of our fellow-men: And, whereas, the praiseworthy efforts heretofore employed for that purpose have proved ineffectual: therefore,

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That it is the judgment of said General Assembly that some other and more efficient policy should be adopted on that subject.

Resolved, further, That it is the judgment of said General Assembly that it is the duty of the Government of the United States of America, as the leading nation of the world, in advancing and maintaining the cause of civil and religious liberty, and ameliorating the unfortunate condition of mankind everywhere, by all proper and lawful means to use the necessary powers to crush effectually this revolting piracy.

Resolved, further, That reason dictates, and experience has shown, that this crime against our race, and the just laws of God, can be more certainly put down than by any plan heretofore tried, by the planting and rearing to maturity and power, colonial states upon the African coast, with republican forms of government, from the free black population of the United States: and that it is the duty of the Congress of the United States, and of the Legislatures of each of the states of this Union, to

enact such laws in harmony with each other, as would promote a general system of colonization, not only for the purpose of suppressing the African Slave Trade, but also to separate, as far as possible, the white and black race upon this continent—by sending off, where they might consent to it, all colored persons in the United States, except those who may be held to service, to such colonial states, without cost, and providing for their comfort there for a reasonable period afterwards; thus making some compensation to an injured race for the wrongs and oppressions of ages, and relieving ourselves from a population which, although amongst, can never be of us, in social or political rights; and for that cause are at all times liable to become a source of public charge, and of public annoyance in each state where they may reside, and of causing irritation and bad neighborhood in the feelings of the states themselves.

Resolved, further, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their efforts to procure the passage of laws by the Congress of the United States, and that all the sister states of this Union be likewise earnestly requested to co-operate, by similar laws, for the promotion of the foregoing objects.

Resolved, further, That the Governor forward a copy of these resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to the Governors of all the states in the Union, and to the heads of the leading Colonization Societies in the United States; and that he be requested to open a correspondence with such societies, and other persons, within his discretion, who may be devoted to the objects aforesaid, with a view to elicit information generally, upon the subject, and especially to obtain plans best calculated to promote the objects above contemplated. And that he be further requested to lay such information before the General Assembly of this state, at its next annual meeting, with such recommendations touching them and the cause of colonization, as to him shall seem advisable."

I remain, with respect, yours, &c..

JAMES MITCHELL,

Secretary Indiana State Board of Colonization.

JEFFERSONVILLE, Indiana, *September* 24, 1857.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, *December* 28, 1857.

To James Mitchell, Jeffersonville, Indiana:

SIR—Your note of the 24th instant has been received, and the memorial which accompanied it has been laid before the President.

I am your obedient servant,

LEWIS CASS.

WASHINGTON, *January* 13, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR—It is some days since I received your communication of the 24th ultimo, presenting the views of the Colonization Society of Indiana, on important subjects. I have read it over with great care and refered it to the Navy Department, where it will remain on file. For the present, I forbear to express an opinion on the topics which it discusses.

With sentiments of respect, I remain truly yours,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

JAMES MITCHELL.

NOTE.—History will record it to the honor of President Buchanan, that he has made an earnest and intelligent effort to suppress the Slave Trade and aid the American settlement on the West coast of Africa; as his messages to Congress in the year 1858, 1859, and May 19, 1860, will abundantly prove. And the eyes of millions have been fixed with intense interest on those brave, bold men, who, under his command, have placed "the wooden walls" of the nation between the pirate and his prey—and to their own great personal discomfort in being brought in close contact with masses of savages in the holds of slavers, they have preserved the honor of the nation, and partially arrested that stream of undesirable population which is so rapidly Africanizing the Western Hemisphere.

II.

THE SEPARATION OF THE RACES JUST AND POLITIC.

Keeping in the order of receding dates, we will reproduce a few extracts from the Indiana colonization reports of 1852—we quote them unchanged *for we fear there has been an unfavorable reaction, adverse to the negro, since they were first published.* They were intended to justify and illustrate the line of policy which in 1851, actuated the Constitutional Convention of Indiana, in working into the fundamental laws of that State, the doctrines of the separation of the races; and making provision therefore so far as our State could act in the case.

The separationists of our State do not consider themselves in any way responsible for the severe measures adopted by that body—intended to exclude negroes not then residents of the State—having maintained all through the preceding canvass of 1849–50 that the negro emigrant to Indiana, should be regarded as any other *alien or stranger* and treated with no more severity while entitled to equal protection—denying him however, the right to take title to land within the State—presuming that this would be sufficient protection, against anything like a permanent lodgement of such a population within our borders.

"We will introduce this argument by stating a few points as the foundation of our reasoning on this subject.

"All men are created equal." A separte and independent subsistence for the great families or races of men, is clearly marked out by the Divine ruler.

Society is an ordinance of Heaven, having for its object the happiness, prosperity and peace of its members.

Governments are designed to guard the peace, prosperity and happiness of society, and to remove all political evils.

A homogeneous population is necessary to the existence of a sound republic.

Slaves and peasants, deprived of the right of citizenship, and suffering social degradation, are incompatible with the genius of republicanism.

The United States of North America should be a pure republic.

A family, and that collection of families which constitutes a republic, have the right beyond all organic law to say who shall, or who shall not be received into their bosom and made members of their society.

The American people, in the exercise of this right, admitted the white race and rejected the black.

There is no salvation for another race that comes in conflict with the Anglo Saxon race, but in fusion with it. All others that conflict with it will be borne down by it.

The colored population of this country cannot be other than *a class of peasants*, if excluded from white society.

Where men are truly religious and moral, the white and black races of the United States do not mix—so the influence of religion will never effect a fusion, or destroy the right of choice in the parties.

No two races, kept distinct by the refusal of the stronger race to fuse with the weaker, can dwell together in the same country on terms of social equality.

A heterogeneous population, that will not amalgamate, sooner or later becomes a turbulent, restless and revolutionary population.

The separation of the races, and the erection of the colored race into an independent and separate commonwealth are the true and only remedies for the disabilites of the colored race.

Unfortunately for the United States, we have the elements of much national disturbance and social immorality among us, in the form of two incompatible races, whose interests must forever clash so long as they remain distinct races, and there is no likelihood that their present relation will change, or that they will become blended into one people.

However, the great mass of the colored race in this land are held as slaves, and with this relation of master and slave, the inhabitants of free states are pledged not to interfere—and we should sacredly observe our pledges; but whilst man thus sacredly keeps his promises to his fellow man, what may not Providence do with this institution. In the coming age of revolutions that must sweep over our globe with terrific and renovating power, it will be impossible for our country to escape the lightning's flash and thunder's stroke, with such a colossal attraction and conductor as the institution of American slavery in our midst, which rears its head amongst the gather-

ing clouds that portend the coming storm. Oh, no! slavery will be modified by a series of providences before many years, and it is likely that tens of thousands will be emancipated; and in the course of a few ages all will be set free. But this act of emancipation, when consummated, will leave that large mass of our fellow beings in a state of serfdom or social slavery. For white society will refuse to receive them into its bosom—or, in other words, the white race will not amalgamate with the blacks. Therefore, the stronger must be the rulers still, and the weaker the servile ones.

A heterogeneous population, that *will not* amalgamate, sooner or later becomes a turbulent population, and civil war and bloodshed follow as a matter of course. This has been the past history of those nations which are cursed with a difference of race, and what has been true of other countries will be true of the United States, unless we apply a remedy to the evil that afflicts us.

With the opponents of the remedy of separation, we agree that "all men are created equal;" but we cannot believe that it follows, as a consequence, that all men should inhabit the same state or territory, or dwell in the same city. But, on the contrary, we believe it to be in keeping with sound policy and the morality of a peaceful religion which we profess as a nation, to apply the remedy of separation to conflicting families or races of men, whose interests are constantly clashing, and who cannot be reduced to a state of social equality. Such we believe to be the state of the white and colored races of the United States.

Separation is a compromise for the sake of peace; to avoid the divisions of society into political factions, of which color would be the line; to enable the colored man to enjoy uninterruptedly all the rights of a freeman and exercise the franchise of such a freeman. Is not such a compromise right, if it can be effected? Is it not justified by the spirit of Christianity? We think it right and just, and give as an illustration of this compromise the case of Abraham and Lot, who were the controlers of large households, and became the fathers of nations. On one occasion, their families—or rather their retainers and servants—quarreled about the right to the soil or domain; and these two good men found it necessary to settle this quarrel by a compromise, and the result was they separated their families and became the occupants of distant and different lands.

Nor will it do to put off the application of this remedy too long, for already the spirit of strife, from this very question of a difference of race, has commenced his cruel work of disor-

ganization. Like a demon of great malignity he has entered the ecclesiastical and civil councils of the land, and sowed the seeds of strife there, and that seed is rapidly ripening, and has produced strife and disunion in many cases. Religious men who were bound by the *strongest bonds* have been rent asunder and arrayed against each other in a hostile attitude, and are now at war with such weapons as they dare to use. Whilst the statesmen of the land, and the great political bodies, are now surveying the field of future conflict; calculating their strength, choosing their positions and preparing for a war of more than words—and although a friend to the "compromise," yet we fear that the elements of trouble are not removed; nay, we know they are not removed—for as yet no practical remedy has been applied to slavery the great root of the evil.

Nor will it do to say that the mere abolition of slavery will remove the evil—indeed it leaves the evil complained of untouched; for two distinct races will remain in the land to curse the country with their strife for social pre-eminence; and just in proportion as the light which has been withheld too long from the colored population is poured in upon them, in the same proportion will their demand for social equality become bold and threatening, until, considering forbearance no longer a virtue, they will make their demand at the point of the sword. Soldiers may laugh at such a prospect, and glory in such sport as crushing the colored armies might afford; but men of peace love not such things and deprecate such times, although afar off.

There are but two remedies for the evil: a *fusion of the races*, or *a total separation*. The application of the first remedy always depends on the choice of the stronger race: and the exercise of the choice for or against involves no moral quality; so that a refusal on the part of the white race to blend with the black cannot be considered a *sin*. And so long as the right of choice remains to man and is untouched by law —human or divine—so long white men, who are *honorable* and *virtuous* and fear God and regard his law, will choose white company to the rejection of black. Nor is this criminal in them. Nor can you compel the American people to act otherwise unless you can show a clear law that will coerce to fusion.

Hence those who are resting their hopes on the future influence of the gospel, are cherishing a false hope; for the influence of the gospel is to make morals pure: and whenever *morals are pure*, then the races never fuse, but the line between them is well defined—the white man being a dignified and upright *superior*, and the colored man being a moral and respectable

inferior. Nor can the colored race escape from this inferiority in society; nor can those of us who would save him from it do so as long as he remains in contact with white men. The poor colored man is like the sickly tree that stands in the grove: he is overshadowed by a stronger race that shoots up to the heavens and spreads its branches to the light—casting a destructive shade on all below. A transplantation is the only salvation in either case.

The enthusiast may preach a different doctrine, and tell us that he makes no difference on account of color: he tells us that which is false! His actions and the company he keeps contradict his words; the companions of his children and associations of his domestic circle are standing witnesses against him. Compel him to choose between two young men of equal moral worth, equal talents and equality of wealth, but differing in color—one being white and the other black—compel him to choose one of the two for a kinsman, and his choice will fall on the white man; and because of color even he will make a difference.

So, unless we *choose*, the colored man cannot become our social equal. But the American people *do not choose* to make him a social equal, and there is no law that can compel them to do this. The consequence is the poor colored man must stand far below par, because of his color; and from this disability he can never escape. He carries it with him wherever he goes, and colored men are compelled to take a secondary place in society and remain in a lower grade; which classification of citizens in grades is incompatible with the genius of this republic and will sap the foundation of democracy.

This being the unpleasant state of things in the United States, a peaceful separation of the races should be devised and carried out as soon as possible, for the good of both; and upon this separation an independent commonwealth of colored people should be formed in which the colored race might be free from our dictation and control.

Many of the most intelligent and independent colored men of the northern States are now convinced that a peaceful separation of the races is the most religious way of disposing of this vexed question. Hence we find them advocating continental colonization, or the erection of an independent commonwealth of colored men on this continent. Others of them who are not religious, are actuated by another passion: that of a desire to rule; hence they wish to escape from the society of white men, where they must be subordinate, that they may become leaders themselves. And none but the willful and

wicked stubbornly contend for the right of fusing with the white race, thus securing social equality in this land.

Now that the colored people are beginning to move in this work, it is the duty of the white race to help them to a separate home. We owe this to them and we owe it to our peace in the future.

It is clear to the calm observer that the colored race of North America have been in a state of pupilage amongst us, —our great crime is not the work of holding the colored man in bonds as an apprentice or a scholar, but we have held him as a slave, and *withheld* the instruction which he should have received. This has been the crime of the South.

However, the effect of the connection which the colored man has had with the white race has been to school him, and bring him forward to a state of intellectual maturity. And, now that the days of his majority have arrived, — as a young man who has come of age is provided with a home by his guardian—so the colored race, which now shows many signs of ability to take care of itself, should be provided with a suitable home by the older guardian race. Nor should the colored race think the work of removal from the old homestead of the white race a hard thing; for it is nothing more than justice and righteousness require.

We have no sympathy for that class that can curse the colored man in their hearts, and then, for political purposes, cry down the inhumanity of the Separationists; and we have very little with those superficial philanthropists who would retain the colored man in this land that he may be used as a servant. We would give him all the rights of man, but this the Abolitionists will not—cannot do: in evidence of which read the following extract from "Jay's Inquiry:"

"One of the designs falsely imputed to them (the Abolitionists) is that of bringing about an amalgamation of colors by intermarriages. In vain have they again and again denied any such design; in vain have their writings been searched for any recommendation of such amalgamation. No Abolitionist is known to have married a negro, or to have given his child to a negro; yet has the charge of amalgamation been repeated and re-repeated, until many no doubt honestly believe it.

"No one, in the possession of his reasoning faculties, can believe it to be the duty of white men to select black wives; and the Abolitionists have given every proof the nature of the case will admit that they countenance no such absurdity. It has been found *expedient* to accuse them of aiming at *social* equality. He must be deeply imbued with fanaticism—or rather insanity—who contends that because a man has a dark skin, he is therefore entitled to a reception in our families and a place at our tables. We all know white men whose characters and habits render them repulsive to us, and whom no consideration would induce us to admit into our social circles; and can it be believed that Abolitionists are willing to extend to the negroes, merely on account of their color, courtesies and indulgencies which in innumerable instances they withhold, and properly withhold, from their white fellow-citizens."

Here is the *prejudice* well stated and well *defended* by a champion of the abolition cause—to meet and obviate which

the separation of the races was devised by the colonization society.

The free man of color can never be a man so long as he remains amongst white men, they will permit him to be a servant or vassal, *but no more.* About this kind of philanthropy there is a spice of selfishness that reminds us of some fine plantations in our State, owned by *very benevolent men*, but cultivated by half starved free negroes.

But before we dismiss this point we will say a word to the man of color into whose hands this may fall: sir, you cannot change the state of things that now exists, without a revolution, you will therefore act unwisely to rear up a family in Indiana to be menials, when you can secure for them the lot and rights of freemen by removal. But if designs of ulterior revolution prompt you to remain in this State, with such designs good men can have no sympathy. Your duty is to meet this difficulty in the spirit of peaceful compromise, and demand a removal which our wise and benevolent statesmen will grant, not in an unkind spirit, but in the spirit that actuated the ancient patriarchs Abraham and Lot.

It is time the free people of color were constituted an independent commonwealth, for they have advanced so far in the work of improvement that they are fully able to conduct the State machinery of a nation.

If it were possible to erect a respectable and truly independent commonwealth of colored men on this continent, we should do so without delay. But we fear the thing is impracticable at this time, and we fear that the future will not be more favorable, because the grasping disposition of the Anglo Saxon race claims the whole North American continent as the field of its future enterprise and expansion. Nor will the jealous and haughty South tolerate the erection of a commonwealth of colored men on American soil. It is with sorrow that we express our conviction that there is no rest for the colored man on this wide continent. The Mexican and Indian are more warlike than he, and yet they have not been able to maintain their independence, or to preserve their lands from violation; it would require a standing army of many thousand men to protect the border of a colored nation. And again, it would ever be a sickly plant in the shade of our gigantic Anglo-Saxon Republic. It is doubtful whether it could maintain its independence as a sovereign nation. In short, it must forever be a contemptible thing in contrast with the United States.

Again, the fact that Divine Providence needs the colored people of this land elsewhere, and requires not a colored na-

tion on this continent for the purpose of carrying out His plans, is evidence sufficient that a colored commonwealth will not succeed in this land.

For, although statesmen may plan, and fanatics may rave, yet God reigns and will rule and overrule all things to this end —the conversion of the world to the religion of Christ, and the overthrow of kings, thrones, and nobles, to the establishment of a pure christian republicanism, in which men shall be governed by principles and not by power, in which they shall acknowledge no king but God, and no creed but His law.

So far as the renovation of this country is concerned, the Anglo-Saxon race can effect the work without the aid of other races.

But it can not be so with Africa, it is forbidden ground to our race, else its wealth would have attracted us long ago, Africa has long been noted for its wealth; its mountains abound with gold, and its productions are of the most valuable character. But God has reserved that land for the colored man,—the finger of Providence points to its shores as the future home of our American colored men.

God requires our schooled, converted, and enlightened colored men, that they may scatter the leaven of christianity and republicanism amongst a population of over one hundred million souls; already has the work been begun, a few thousand noble-souled and independent colored men have taken their lives in their hands and gone forth on their mission,— under the fostering care of their Divine Guide, they have been instrumental in planting the foundation of a christian commonwealth on the continent of Africa, which now looms up from the dark horizon of that benighted land as a bright star of promise to the sons of Africa,— which is destined to be their guide through all their future struggles and stormy conflicts.

And such will be the attractive power of the young republic of Liberia, that in a few years its enemies will not be able to turn the growing stream of emigration away from it—but it will swell and spread until it has embraced the whole colored population of our land within its influence.

An African commonwealth is no longer a theory, it is a fact. There stands Liberia! the glory of her friends, and the rebuke of all her slanderers.

We must admire the wisdom of that Providence which spread a cloud over African colonization, and enshrouded the young colony in doubt for a few years. But now, that God has taken away the veil, we can see the reason of this strange providence. For we discover that the handful of pioneers

stationed on the coast of Africa were learning how to act and govern. God was teaching them the difficult lesson of self-dependence and self-government. And looking back over their history, we can see each successive step in this noble work, until they stand forth before the world graduated republicans, who have acquired such self-confidence that they can now receive thousands of raw emigrants, and guide them safely in the same difficult work of self dependence, and self-government. The foundation of their nation being settled, and their institutions being planted, they are ready to co-operate with the friends of the African in this land in the great work of separating the races.

The work of transporting the colored people of this land to a distant home can be effected, provided both races are agreed on the subject. And the western coast of Africa is the most convenient point that can be reached. A few lines of transports plying regularly between the above point and this country would make the removal easy and pleasant—much more pleasant and agreeable than a trip to California, and not attended with as much *labor, danger or expense.* The sum of $60 will carry a man from this land to Liberia, and furnish him with six months' provisions. The above sum will hardly buy the California mover a good horse. As to the labor and danger of the two trips, the balance is largely in favor of Liberia, for the constitution will suffer more wear and tear by two-fold in a Californian expedition than it will in a Liberian expedition, and it cannot be doubted that twice as many die in going to California as die amongst the Liberian emigrants.

Much has been said about the impossibility of carrying off all the colored people of our land. We would to God that the day of their exodus had come, it would then be seen whether the American people have energy to effect the work. We know they can do it if they will; and that man pays but a poor compliment to the character of his race that doubts its ability on this point. The colored people of this land are not four millions in numbers, and yet four millions, if free and at the disposal of the friends of colonization, could be transported to Liberia for a sum equal to that paid out for the Mexican war, which we suppose to be one hundred million dollars, and yet this sum has been paid, or nearly so, without our being *sensibly* the poorer, few men being able to tell when, where, or how they paid their part of that bill; if we are not mistaken, the American people are ready to vote any sum to effect a peaceful separation of the races, and will rejoice in the opportunity.

If the people will demand of the general government *that the Atlantic be bridged* with a few lines of transports, tens of thousands of free colored men will pour across to their new home. And the Slave States, ashamed of their folly and oppression, will surrender their slaves into the hands of government agents, who shall set them free on the coast of Africa, thus for a few millions of dollars, this land may be saved from the scourge of civil war, and millions of our fellow men restored to all the rights of men. We trust that God will move upon our statesmen to consider this momentous subject, and upon the free colored people of our land to inquire what is their duty in this case!

In the meantime, whilst waiting for the national exodus of the sons of Africa, a separation of interests and institutions tends most to the *peace and morality* of the races. Of this, the more intelligent colored persons are convinced; hence, we find them advocating separate schools, separate churches, separate neighborhoods, and, in short, separate society; and, although they seem blind to the manifest tendency of this movement, yet it is carrying them on with irresistible power to the sure destiny of the reasonable and conservative portion of the colored race, which we fondly hope and believe will be a *separate national existence*—which we hope will save them from the horrors of the lot that awaits those of the race who are bent on revolution.

Having premised those points, we will notice in a respectful manner, some of the objections urged against the doctrine of separation; the most comprehensive list of objections that we have ever seen, was published in one of our journals during the session of the late Constitutional Convention, by an anonymous writer. As we have a great respect for the "Higher Law" and its Giver, we will give the objections of that school a candid hearing, and therefore quote the objections in full. It is immaterial to us who the author of these objections is: they are the cavilings of our opponents, and they furnish a hold by which to grapple with them.

"1. The Earth, the whole Earth, is God's footstool.

"2. It was created to be inhabited by all his creatures—to sustain them, while in life, upon its bosom—to receive them, in death, beneath its surface.

"3. Surrounding this globe is atmosphere, created for the purposes of life, and necessary to its continuance.

"4. The inhabitants of each particular section of the Earth are but God's stewards. They occupy only at his sufferance—they breathe the air necessary for their life only at His will.

"5 Each nation has its particular customs and laws. So far as they do not conflict with His "High Law," they have the right to prescribe rules and regulations for the government of those who seek residence amongst them.

"6. They may provide that certain classes shall not enjoy the rights of citizenship—that they shall not have the benefit of Poor Laws—that they shall be taxed, &c.

"7. But they have NO RIGHT, *by Divine law*, to prohibit any Human being, whom God has seen fit to create of a different color, from barely *living* upon that portion of the Earth which they have themselves, or *breathing* of that atmosphere which happens to hang over their nation or State, a sufficient quantity for his existence.

"8. They *could have* no such right, except by express Divine Command—for the Earth is (not man's but) the Lord's and the fulness thereof. All human beings whom He sees fit in His wisdom to create, He intends, whatever man may think, shall breathe and live upon that Earth.

"9 Most undeniably would they have no such right, judged by the law of Humanity alone, until at least a congenial portion of the Earth was set apart for them, and *every means and expense fully provided* for their transportation thereto.

"10. Even then it would be doubtful, whether either by the Higher or Lower Law, any nation would be justified in forcibly driving to it from their midst, human beings who had previously, with equal force, been dragged within its bounds."

With the first five of those propositions, we cordially agree, although we consider some of them rather *atmospheric.*

The sixth proposition is a peculiar one, being quite accommodating in its structure, for there is an et cetera at the end of it, on which, we suppose, the objector designed hanging as many negro disabilities *as may be considered politic.* He maintains that States, in their transition or organizing process, "may provide that certain classes shall not enjoy the right of citizenship,—that they shall not have the benefit of poor laws, —that they shall be taxed," &c. Which et cetera means all the other disabilities of the black code, which States may please to fix on the poor colored man. Yes, to this proposition and all that it drags after it, we are compelled to agree, with a pang of sorrow; and the next impulse is to inquire for a remedy. And we find that in *amalgamation* or *separation.*— An election of one or the other should be made at once by every State in the Union, and a vigorous system of State policy, in harmony with that election, adopted and set in motion.

If the policy of separation as a remedy for the evils that arise from the existence of two conflicting races, be rejected,

and amalgamation or its equivalent, *inaction*, be adopted, we have no more to say, except to express the hope that the disabilities of the black code will be removed. For we must confess that our quarrel as separationists is not with the man of color, but with those very disabilities found in the sixth proposition of the objector. Yes, it is for those we desire a remedy; and if the objectors can furnish us a better plan for their removal,—for in this practical age, *the plan* is what we want, something practical and substantial,—if a better plan than separation is furnished, we will rejoice in the discovery, and render all the aid we can to carry it out.

But if such a practical plan cannot be found and furnished, we feel disposed to advocate the redemption of the colored man from those oppressive disabilities, by a removal of the subject beyond their reach. And if removal is considered the most practical plan, then we hope that our statesmen will not dodge this question, but come up to it,—meet it, and give us a vigorous system of State policy that will facilitate the work of removal, so that all *who desire* to emigrate to Liberia, may be transferred there without the loss of a dollar.

The seventh proposition in the above list, is designed to be the *strong point* in the list of objections. It runs thus: "But *they have no right, by Divine Law*, to prohibit any human being, whom God has seen fit to create of a different color, from barely *living* upon that portion of the earth which they have themselves, or breathing of that atmosphere which happens to hang over their nation or State, a sufficient quantity for his existence."

About the atmospheric part of this proposition, we have nothing to say. But we suppose that that portion which pertains to the earth, means—if it means anything at all—that one man has as good *a right*, derived from Divine law, to live on any inhabited lot of ground as the legal incumbent or owner, and by a parity of reasoning, that any one race of men has as good *a right* to the territory of another distinct and dissimilar race as the possessors have.

Now with this we cannot agree, for if this doctrine was admitted, it would unsettle the very foundations of society, and overturn all the recognized institutions and sound laws of our nation, and introduce an agrarianism that would pour contempt on the red republicanism of France. Nor is this doctrine in harmony with the Divine economy of which the objector speaks, which seems to be disclosed in the following language of Scripture: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times afore appointed; *and the bounds* of their

habitation." "The Most High divided the nations, their inheritance, when He *separated* the sons of Adam, *He set the bounds of the people.*" Here is a *separate* and independent *subsistence*, marked out for the great families of men; and God requires us to respect this economy, any departure from it on our part, will be to the injury of both ourselves and others. And each State, or nation, has a right to repel any departure from it by other nations or families, who would force themselves upon an incompatible community, that wished not their presence or alliance.

From the above economy, we infer that *society is an ordinance of Heaven*, having for its object the peace, prosperity and happiness of its members. Various were the lines of division that God laid down; but the chief were race and language, Each of those sub-divisions of the human family derived *a right* from the Giver of the "Higher Law," to form a government for its protection, and the removal of all political and social evils. This *original right* remains to States and nations, and is the very foundation of republicanism. They likewise received *the right* to choose the form of that government, and to amend it when such an amendment became necessary. And further, society, which implies the State, like the family, being an ordinance of Heaven, has *the right* to prescribe the character of those who shall be amalgamated with it; *this right* each sovereign State in this confederacy has, and retains, beyond all State or Federal Constitutions, or organic laws whatever,—and to express this in one word, it is *the right of choice.*

But objectors too often forget that society in its organized capacity as a State, has reserved rights, that it may assume or lay down at pleasure, and that such rights are recognized in the law of God. Now in the light of those recognized rights, we must disagree with the doctrine of the seventh proposition which legalizes intrusion, &c. &c., for God requires us to observe the rights of organized society, (States) and it is the province of magistrates and statesmen to see that those rights are respected, "*for they are God's ministers attending continually upon this very thing.*"

The doctrine of the above proposition forbids the repulsion of an invading army.

It forbids the removal of a hostile force, that has taken possession of a part of your country.

It forbids the exclusion of the emmisaries of a hostile people, who desire a lodgement in the country for purposes of revolution.

It divests statesmen and magistrates of those peculiar, special and sometimes severe powers, which God has vested in those who watch over society; by the exercise of which in given cases one man may condemn another to death; or which empowers our chief magistrate, who is naught but a fellow man, to order thousands of his fellow citizens into the field of battle, and there *require them* to sacrifice their lives for the good of their people.

And as to the statesman, who is the *political physician* or if need be the *surgeon*, whose duty it is to keep the body politic in a healthy state. The doctrine of the objector as stated above, ties him hand and foot, and forbids him to guard his country and people from revolution notwithstanding all the elements of revolution may be clearly developed.

And again, it forbids the enactment of laws, or the execution of such laws when enacted, as will dislodge an intruder, who has taken possession of another's property on the ground of having an *equal right* with the owner, to the soil of his farm or the *air* in his room.

And lastly, this doctrine not only legalizes intrusion, but it is at variance with the doctrines of *peace* and *compromise* which are so abundant in the Bible. As separationists we claim for the colored man *all the rights of man*, but this, white society refuse to give—what then shall be done in this case? Shall we spirit on the man of color to revolution, strife and sedition, and shall this strife be kept up as long as the State stands, or one man is darker than another? Is this required at the hand of those who would be philanthropic—is this required by that law that teaches a peaceful compromise of all differences? The separationist thinks not; and acts on his convictions. Hence if the colored man cannot secure his rights in this land without a revolution, we would avoid that revolution by calling him off from the field of strife, and invite him to assume a peaceful, respectable, and independent relation to other nations.

The eighth proposition arises from and is based on the seventh, but as its foundation is untenable, so the eighth is unsound.

With the ninth we agree—conscious that the heart of the separationist beats as warmly toward the colored man, as does that of the abolitionist, and we ardently hope that our statesmen will provide a home for the colored man, either on this continent or in Africa, where he can be a free man.

As to the tenth, the writer considers it a doubtful point, so we will not trouble ourselves about his doubts, as we desire to

deal in clear terms, considering that it is only an inference from the seventh, which has been answered.

We are now prepared to maintain, that it is the duty of governments to apply to all existing political or social evils, such remedies as are best adapted to remove them; and to prevent such national or social calamities as they may foresee; and it is the duty of statesmen and magistrates to see that those remedies and preventatives are used—for they are God's ministers attending continually upon this very thing. In the exercise of these *their rights*, they may repel an invading army, remove a hostile force, enforce the observance of law, punish the disobedient, and in short, use and exercise constitutionally, all those severe, yet wholesome powers which God has vested in the *sword bearers* of society, and who are accountable for their conduct to the Great King in the first place, whose "Higher Law" *reaches them*, and binds them to the discharge of the duties of their office. And they are accountable in the second place, to the constitutional powers which appointed them, whose well being and peace they are bound to seek, irrespective of the opinions of individual members of society, whose limited sphere of observation may prevent them from fully comprehending the wisdom or rectitude of a given course of policy, designed to carry with it a national benefit, the effect of which may not be so clearly seen now, as in future ages, but which *must* result with mathematical certainty, in the salvation of two races from great evils, and the moral regeneration of two continents. For notwithstanding our self-complacency, our republicanism must be vitiated as long as slavery exists amongst us, and just so long will the moral precepts of the Divine Law be disregarded.

III.

INDIANAPOLIS, July 12, 1849.

To HON. J. M. CLAYTON,

Secretary of State:

DEAR SIR:—Forgive the writer for calling your attention to what may be considered by you a stale subject—that of colonization. But I come as a suppliant and I hope you will give me a hearing.

Will you be so good as to read; and then hand the enclosed memorial to our beloved President—forgive all that you may consider blunt, or not according to court etiquette, and then become our apologist to him.

We have assumed the character of a pleader in the name of others and have asked those things which we know from much intercourse with the people of Indiana would be very acceptable to all parties.

Yours, respectfully,

JAMES MITCHELL

To HIS EXCELLENCY, Z. TAYLOR,

President of the United States:

HONORED AND DEAR SIR:—Permit the writer to address you in the name of nine-tenths of the citizens of our State, who being "*separationists*" on the question of the African race think it impracticable if not wrong to attempt a fusion of the black and white races of our land. But whilst we thus discard the plan of amalgamation as a means of elevating the colored men of our country from their degradation, we advocate the only alternative that is left the philanthropist—that of a total separation of the races. And the prayer of your memorialist is that the Executive would favorably consider this plan for elevating our colored citizens and make it one of the measures of your opening administration, by recommending Congress to devise the ways and means to transport all the free people of color who are willing to emigrate to the Republic of Liberia, which now offers to them an attractive and

secure home where they may be truly independent, and not only so, but be the instruments of planting an enlightened republicanism and renovating Christianity on the continent of Africa. And we require not only the removal of willing emigrants, but we ask that all slaves hereafter set free, be removed at once to Liberia, or some other settlement on the African coast, for we are unwilling to receive them into the North, where they must become the social slaves of our race, which is one part of the evil we wish to remedy.

The above measure is what the country wants—nothing short of this will meet the necessities of the case. The nation is ripe for such a movement—and millions North and South will gladly vote any sum to effect this work. And such a work will cover the administration that effects it with well merited glory—a glory even superior to that which already encircles the incumbent of the great chair. For free republics and flourishing churches on what is now a dark continent will speak forth the praises of their founder or patron in subsequent ages; and such a founder will be remembered by the civilized world with admiration. Europe must wonder at this peaceful but gigantic system of propagating republicanism. Africa will hail it as the dawn of her regeneration, and all parties in this land must rejoice at our deliverance from the danger that always attends the commingling of races that are incompatible and will not fuse. The incipient steps of such a work are worthy your administration. And we *pray that Heaven may give the system favor in your eyes.*

It cannot be hid from you that the most potent objection of the opponents of colonization is their gratuitous assertion that the General Government will never take hold of the work of colonization. And this assertion which we trust shall be proved false by your action; has chilled the ardor of our friends and thinned our ranks, causing the loss of thousands of our best men, who have gone over to the ultra abolition faction. And tens of thousands of the most benevolent men in the North and Northwest, who act with us now—and feel as we do on the subject of a separation of the races, are becoming doubtful of the final success of our scheme, because of the neglect of the General Government. This conviction if not soon refuted by your action, will disband the colonizationists of the North and then we will not answer for the overthrow of this conservative body.

It is a difficult thing for us to show you the true state of feeling in the North and Northwest. To understand it you should live amongst us unknown—then you could discover that the great question with us is the elevation of the

colored man. God seems to have laid this burden upon our souls,—we cannot roll it off if we would; go where we will it meets us. It is convulsing our church organizations with earthquake power. All other questions of civil policy sink into insignificance before it. And now with burdened souls we look toward you as a man of humane and conservative spirit who will regard not only the feelings of the extreme sections of our Union, but likewise the wants and wishes of the central States. In the name of the degraded colored man, and in behalf of a community rent and torn; and reeling under the mad excitement of party strife, we ask you to take the measure of the separation of the races into consideration.

All we ask at this time is the acknowledgement of the independence of Liberia, the recognition of her minister, (a white gentleman who it was understood should reside in this country,) and the formation of a liberal treaty of commerce with her, together with a permanent line or lines of transports to be supported by the General Government.

Such lines would reduce the expenditure of the Colonization Society one-half per emigrant sent out,—thus she would be enabled to extend her operations—and they would establish a regular trade between this land and Africa, and thereby the designs of England to make Liberia her factor, and secure the trade of that opening country would be frustrated, and we would become the merchants of Africa.

The necessity of permanent and ample arrangements for transporting colored people to Liberia is apparent when we look around us and see the great number of colored people who desire a passage to that land. In all sections of the country the freed men are waking from their sullen sleep, and casting aside their objections to Liberia, they long to take shelter beneath her flag—but the funds of our society are inadequate to the demand. And the difficulty of procuring adequate funds is increased by the universal conviction that *the American Colonization Society has performed its mission*, in demonstrating the practicability and utility of colonization and that the time has come for a great national movement in this work, of which conviction this memorial is but a faint expression.

That colonization should be made a measure of national policy is evident from the following startling fact:—The past history of the world does not show an instance, where two distinct races kept distinct by the refusal of one to fuse with the other, because of some difference in origin, religion or color, have *occupied the same country on terms of peace and*

equality. The consequence of such a commingling has always been civil war, internal strife and the oppression of the weaker race, to the moral injury of the oppressor. We will call your attention to a few well known cases, illustrative of this fact.

The case of the English people during the reign of the Norman dynasty, whilst the Norman refused to mix with the Saxon. The history of England during that time was one of oppression and bloody strife; and this unhappy state of affairs was not removed until the Norman consented to fuse with the Saxon and the people of England thus became homogeneous.

Unfortunate Ireland is likewise an appropriate illustration of the above fact. In Ireland there are two distinct races—the aborigines or Milesian race and the Saxon race. In the reign of Henry the Second, the Saxon made a lodgment on that island and continued to encroach until they spread their rule over the whole land—since the conquest the Milesian and Saxon live together in the same country but never fuse, this difference of race amongst the inhabitants of Ireland is nearly as great as that which exists between the white and colored races of this land; for as a general rule they never mix—to do so would be to lose caste in their respective families; the Milesian hates the Saxon, and the latter looks with contempt upon the former. The consequence of this state of things is known to you. The above difference of race is the source of Ireland's wrongs and sorrows, and will be the prolific source of evil until that people are blended into one race by amalgamation, or one of the contending races is colonized.

A third illustration is found in the present war of the races of Central America. In short, the history of other lands which have been cursed with a strife of races, shall be our history, so soon as the colored race that we are cherishing with so much care for the sake of profit shall have been warmed into life—when the serpent shall have obtained energy—then it will throw its coils around its master and pour its long cherished and deadly venom into many a vein.

In this natural effort of the colored race to procure the rights of men, they would find many sympathizers in the civilized world, and not a few in the northern States—who, though they might not aid the rebel, yet they would not oppose the man who *strikes for liberty.* In short, we fear we have the elements of revolution amongst us, and it is the part of wisdom to remove them. Nor should we confide too much in our own power to quell an insurrection, for if a general rising of the free and bond negroes should take place, it would cost the people of the United States much blood; and more money would be expended in quelling it than would be re-

quired to transport to Africa, all the free people of color in the United States, together with all who shall be made free for twenty years to come. Nay, the expense of one such war as the last Mexican war, would cover the transportation of over four millions of colored people to Liberia, at the rate of $25 00 per emigrant, which is a larger sum than Europeans expend in coming to this country.

But to return—we deprecate civil war and acts of oppression, and we fear more the moral evil that such things would inflict on posterity, than we fear a draw on our purses for colonization purposes. So we ask you to save us from the above evils, by a proper remedy, which, you discover, may be of two kinds—*the fusion of the races, or a total separation.* The first we think impracticable, therefore we advocate the second.

And while we thus beg you to take hold of colonization with a firm grasp, and press the energies and resources of the whole American people into the enterprise, we disclaim all designs of embarassing your administration by what some might call unconstitutional policy; for surely the Constitution authorizes our rulers to seek the well being of the whole people, and few measures would produce more present and prospective benefit to us, the negro, and we might add, Africa, than a national system of colonization, by which we could rescue thousands, nay millions, of our degraded fellow-citizens from dishonor, and save them and ourselves from soul destroying hatred, and pour out the leaven of an enlightened and christian race on the corrupt continent of Africa, and thus offer an atonement for the sin of oppression.

But colonization may be adopted by the General Government on other and undisputed grounds, as a measure for suppressing the African slave-trade; and this ground is confessedly constitutional; to which the most strict constructionist cannot object, nor can we think that you will construe the constitution so as to see in it an instrument potent only for mischief and incapable of application to purposes of mercy. May God deliver you from such fearful views of that invaluable document, and may it prove in your hands an instrument of mercy.

And now let us call your attention to the fact that Liberia in these the days of her infancy has been the means of suppressing the slave-trade on over five hundred miles of seacoast. The erection of this Republic has cost our society but one million dollars, which sum would not support your armament on the coast of Africa three years. Yet the combined squadrons of America, England and France, have not been able so much as to check the growth of the slave-trade, for

over 80,000 Africans are annually torn from the land of their fathers and sold into perpetual bondage.

Now in conclusion, Honored and Dear Sir, we beseech you to grant our cause a favorable consideration and allude to it in your first message. Such an allusion would give the rising and turbulent feeling of the nation on the question of negro degradation a safe and definite direction. It would give new life to the friends of separation. It would rebuke the ultra men North and South. It would call into being a great conservative party, with whom such a measure would be truly popular, and it would cheer the young Republic on the coast of Africa, that promises ere long to overshadow all other states and provinces of that land.

Yours, with respect,

JAMES MITCHELL,
Agent A. C. Society.

INDIANAPOLIS, July 10, 1849.

NOTE.—It will be remembered that General Taylor called the attention of Congress to the subject of the African slave-trade, and during his brief administration steps were taken to establish a line of steamers for emigration purposes, between this country and Africa; in favor of which measure there was great uniformity of opinion throughout the nation, as the numerous petitions and memorials which were poured in upon Congress and the administration abundantly show. Of the latter you will find several volumes in the State Department. And we will venture the declaration that if the nation at this date was permitted to declare by vote its sentiment on this question, it would go by an unexpected majority for a removal of the colored race to a separate country. For it is becoming more evident that the question will soon be *"a separation of the races, or a separation of the States.* It is an unpleasant problem to solve, but it is the duty and business of statesmen to do it; and if they will not solve it in time, time will solve it to the prejudice of this now peaceful and happy country. Expense should not be calculated in this connection, for, in the support of political conflicts over it, and civil wars arising from it more treasure may be wasted, (to say nothing of the moral mischief,) than would be necessary to buy up every negro in the nation and remove him to a separate State, within, say *one hundred years* from this time; for *time* should enter largely into such a movement as it does into the composition of all great national enterprises; but there should be a beginning and the sooner a national plan is devised the sooner the nation will have peace.